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AUTHOR Knop, Ed; Knop, Sheila
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ABSTRACT

Data from a 1% sample of households in the 1980 United States Census of Population and Housing were used to identify personal and social characteristics associated with being poor or marginally poor in Colorado. The general hypothesis examined was that the more limited an individual's access is to participation in the nontraditional aspects of the economic and social opportunity structure of the state and society, the more likely he/she is to be impoverished. Disproportional poverty is thus expected in remote, traditional areas and among people with traditional social identities that limit access to economic opportunities. The following variables were considered: area of the state, age, gender, minority status, English language skill, education completed, present school enrollment, disability status, marital status, responsibility for dependent children, rural and farm residence, recent migration history, whether employed, occupation type, and industry category according to traditionality or recency in Colorado. With some qualifications, the data supported the research hypothesis. Of the variables examined, location, marital, minority, and employment status made the greatest difference statewide. Education level was important in traditional rural areas, and current school enrollment was important in Colorado suburban, small SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area), and nontraditional rural areas. Implications for programs and policies are discussed. (JHZ)

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Patterns of Poverty in Colorado: Implications for Analysis and Action

Ed Knop and Sheila Knop

Colorado State University and the
Colorado Commission on Higher Education

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Population Dynamics for Colorado Educators

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Abstract:

Personal and social characteristics associated with being in poverty or being marginally poor are examined by Colorado regions using a one percent sample of households from the 1980 U. S. Census. The analysis considers the theme that changes in the state's economic opportunity structure disadvantage those persons with least access to new opportunities, whether by virtue of proximity or inhibiting social identities, leaving them disproportionately poor. The Colorado data generally support this hypothesis with some qualifications and additional considerations being important for understanding the state's patterns of poverty. Implications for programs and policies focus on countering regional and identity inequities, especially in support of the self-help tendencies shown by the majority of those in or near poverty due personal and social circumstances.

Introduction

Colorado, like most states, has experienced considerable change in its economic activities historically, and particularly in the last several decades. By choice, circumstance or social preference patterns, many persons are left to pay the costs of shifting economic opportunities without the support of commensurate changes in socio-cultural patterns. Following previous research examining this and similar themes (Redcliff, 1984; Finchen, 1981; Rao and Reddy, 1982; Brinker and Crim, 1982; Smith, 1976; Chambers, 1980; Mertz, 1978; Coppedge and Davis, 1977) we examine the general hypothesis: the more limited persons access to participation in the non-traditional aspects of the economic and social opportunity structure of the state and society, the more likely they are to be impoverished. We consider the main bases of limited access to be: (1) geographical remoteness from concentrated, diverse new opportunity (in the case of Colorado, primarily the Denver metropolitan area, and, secondarily, other metropolitan centers; and (2) the socio-cultural dynamics of access-limiting adherence to tradition, due either (a) persons' choice of traditional social identity (by virtue of education, occupation, etc.) and/or (b) others' imposition of traditional social stigma (attached to stereotypes of ethnicity, gender, age, etc.) Disproportionate poverty is thus expected in remote, traditional areas and among people choosing or having imposed on them traditional social identities that limit access to economic opportunities. Further, a compound disadvantage effect is expected for some, making them among the poorest and least able to escape poverty.

Methods Overview

Data and Analysis

To examine this perspective in and among types of Colorado metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions, we used a one percent sample of households in the 1980 U.S. Census of Population and Housing as available on the PUMS Series A tapes. In doing so, we eliminated residents of group quarters such as dormatories, prisons and nursing homes (approximately three percent of the state's population) given their lack of household characteristics needed for the analysis.

All variables we thought relevant for analysis that were available on the PUMS A tapes were considered in early analysis. These are summarized in the Table 3 correlation matrix, to be commented on later. Based on exploratory analysis, the following variables were identified for focused analysis: (1) area of the state; (2) age; (3) gender; (4) minority status; (5) English language skill; (6) education completed; (7) present school enrollment; (8) disability status; (9) marital status; (10) responsibility for dependent children; (11) rural and farm residence; (12) recent migration history; (13) whether employed; (14) occupation type, and (15) industry category according to its traditionality or recency in Colorado.

Crosstabulations were done between these variables and individual's poverty or marginally-poor status for the state and each of six state regions. Adults (19+) and youth were separated, given the irrelevance of many variables for the youth. Poverty status was by standard government definition. Overaimply, it keys off total family income to which poverty levels are set

according to a combination of considerations like family size, sex of family head, number of minor children, and farm-nonfarm residence. A rough rule of thumb is that poverty is set below a total income of about three times the family's basic food requirements, with certain other modifications. (See U.S. Census/Fendler, 1984: 179 ff.) Further, data enabled us to consider those who fell somewhat above the poverty line; we chose those within 50 percent above the poverty line as marginally-poor.

All variables relevant to consider were also intercorrelated to clarify patterns of second-order interdependences useful for interpretation of poverty status findings. As well, multiple correlation/regression (stepwise entry by highest remaining coefficient) was done for each region to examine the relative and combined explanatory power of major variables. The correlation and multiple regresison analyses were done only for the adult sample to avoid substantial problems of missing and irrelevant data among the youth.

Region Characteristics

The rationale for the choice of state regions for comparative analysis and interpretation needs comment. As a given, PUMS data are grouped into sixteen Colorado areas representing an approximate minimum of 100,000 persons in a region to preserve citizen privacy. Analysis of smaller units cannot be done. Fortunately, these sixteen areas were perceptively constructed to give relatively homogeneous socio-cultural and geographic natural areas that enabled their further grouping into fewer regions in terms of their proximity to new economic opportunity and their socio-economic similarity. We originally combined them into categories of: (A) Metropolitan: (1) Denver SMSA; (2) Other SMSAs; and (B) Non-metropolitan: (1) West; (2) East; and (3) South (each progressively more-traditional in socio-cultural and demographic characteristics. Preliminary analysis and literature review (e.g., Smith, 1976) convinced us this was a mistake in one important regard: like many major central cities, Denver, while at the core of a primate SMSA, is, in fact, not the location of much new economic activity that is easily accessible in several practical and socio-cultural regards for very many central city residents. On the other hand, the surrounding suburban SMSA is the location of most new development, followed by the other SMSAs and the western mountain non-metropolitan area. Thus the Denver central city was separated from the rest of the SMSA, giving us three metropolitan regions and three non-metropolitan ones as listed above. Figures 1, 2 and 3 map the boundaries of the sixteen PUMS areas, our six regions, and the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan boundaries.

Our interest is with exploring differences in poverty patterns not only between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, but also regarding variations within them--particularly among the three non-metropolitan regions, where socio-cultural and economic characteristics vary considerably. Given our conceptual emphasis on the effects of remoteness and traditionality amidst change, we have been able to maintain conceptual criteria, non-metropolitan case numbers needed for analysis and have a selection of natural areas that approximate the range typical in the U.S.: (1) a large, old regional primate city; (2) its rapidly-developing clean-industry, commerce and science oriented suburbs; (3) adjacent small SMSAs with their adolescent-like transitional growth-adjustment challenges; (4) non-traditional non-metropolitan region (the western, north- and central mountains) which is

Figure 1:
16 Colorado PUMS Regions, 1980

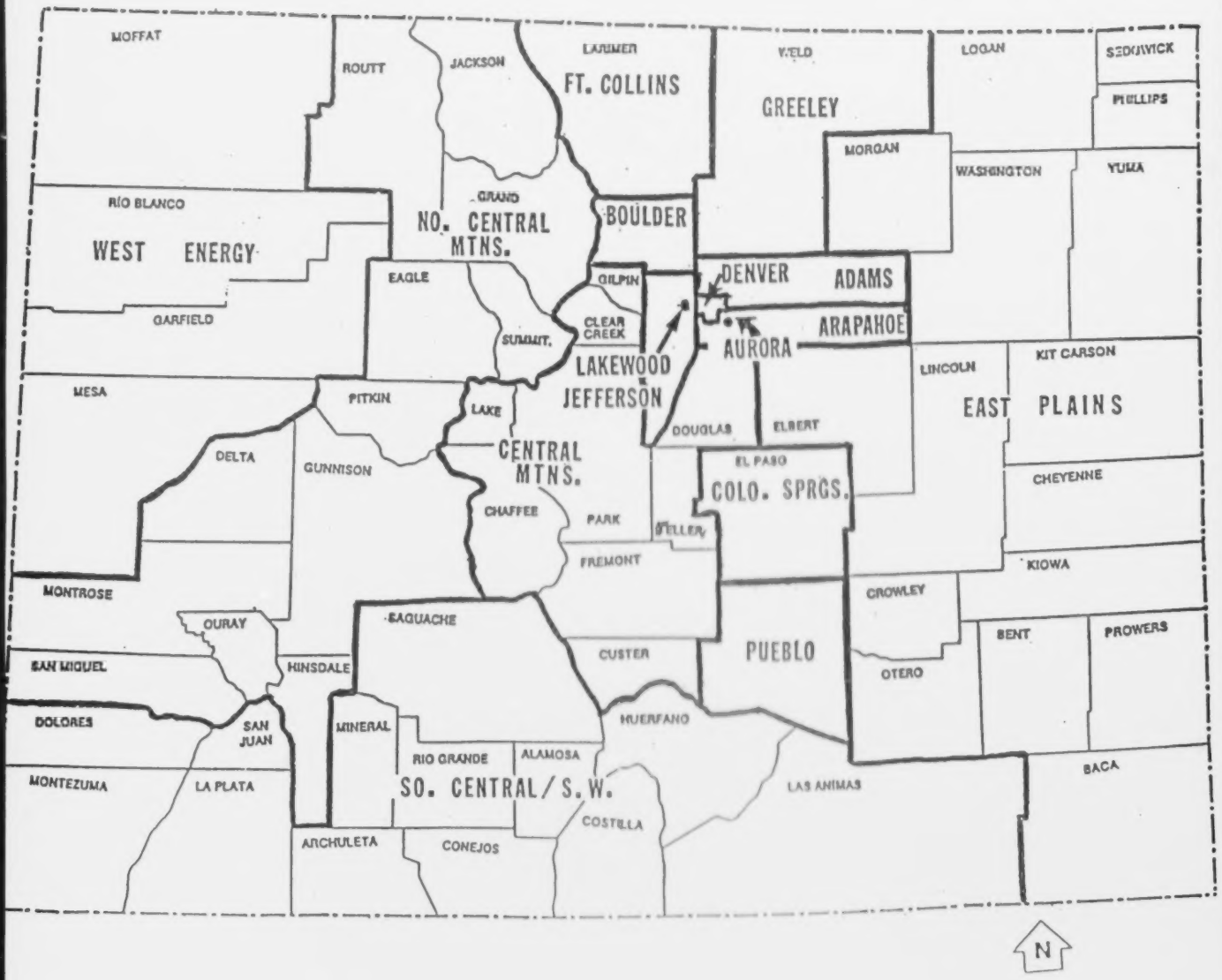


Figure 2:
Six Colorado Regions Used in This Analysis

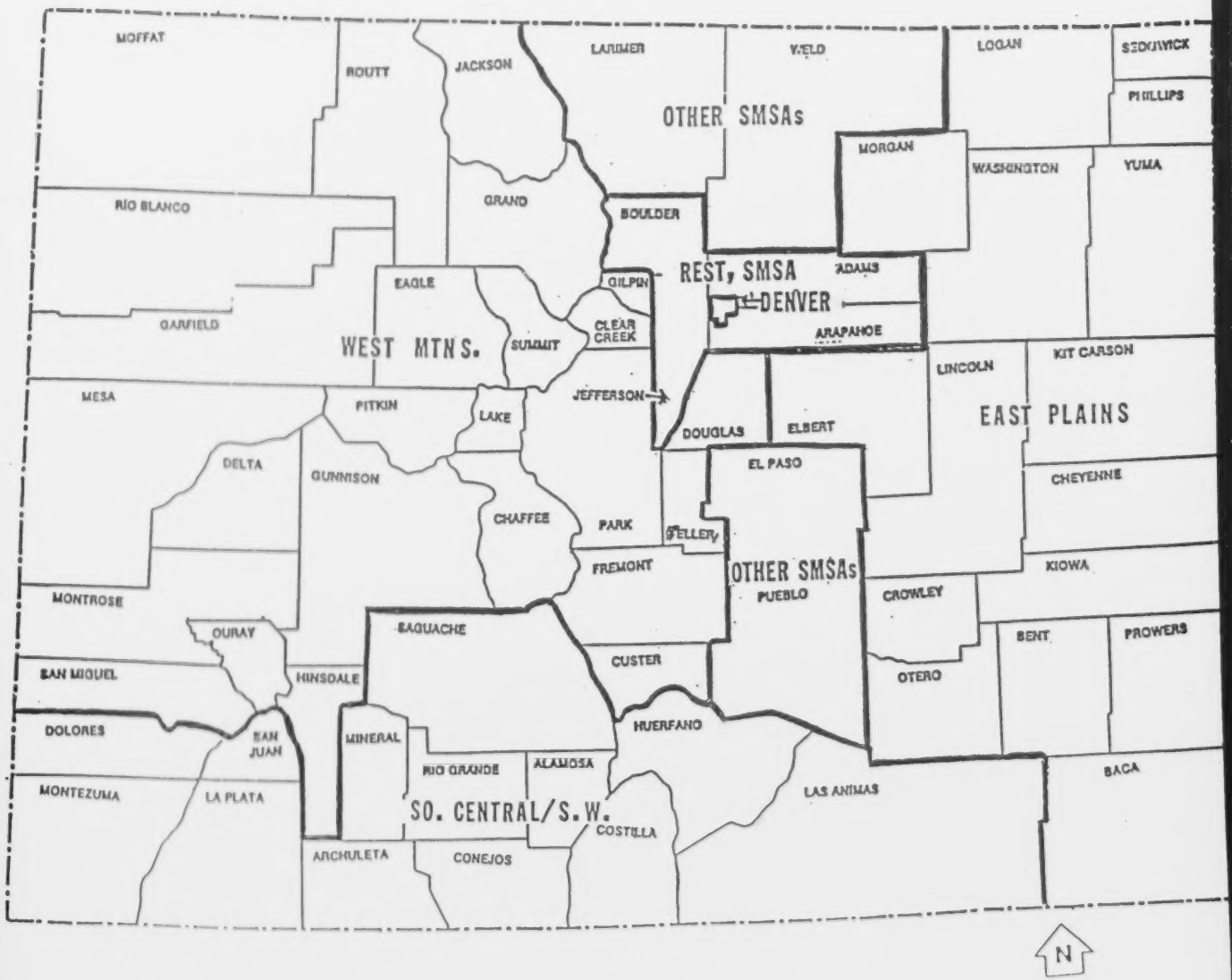
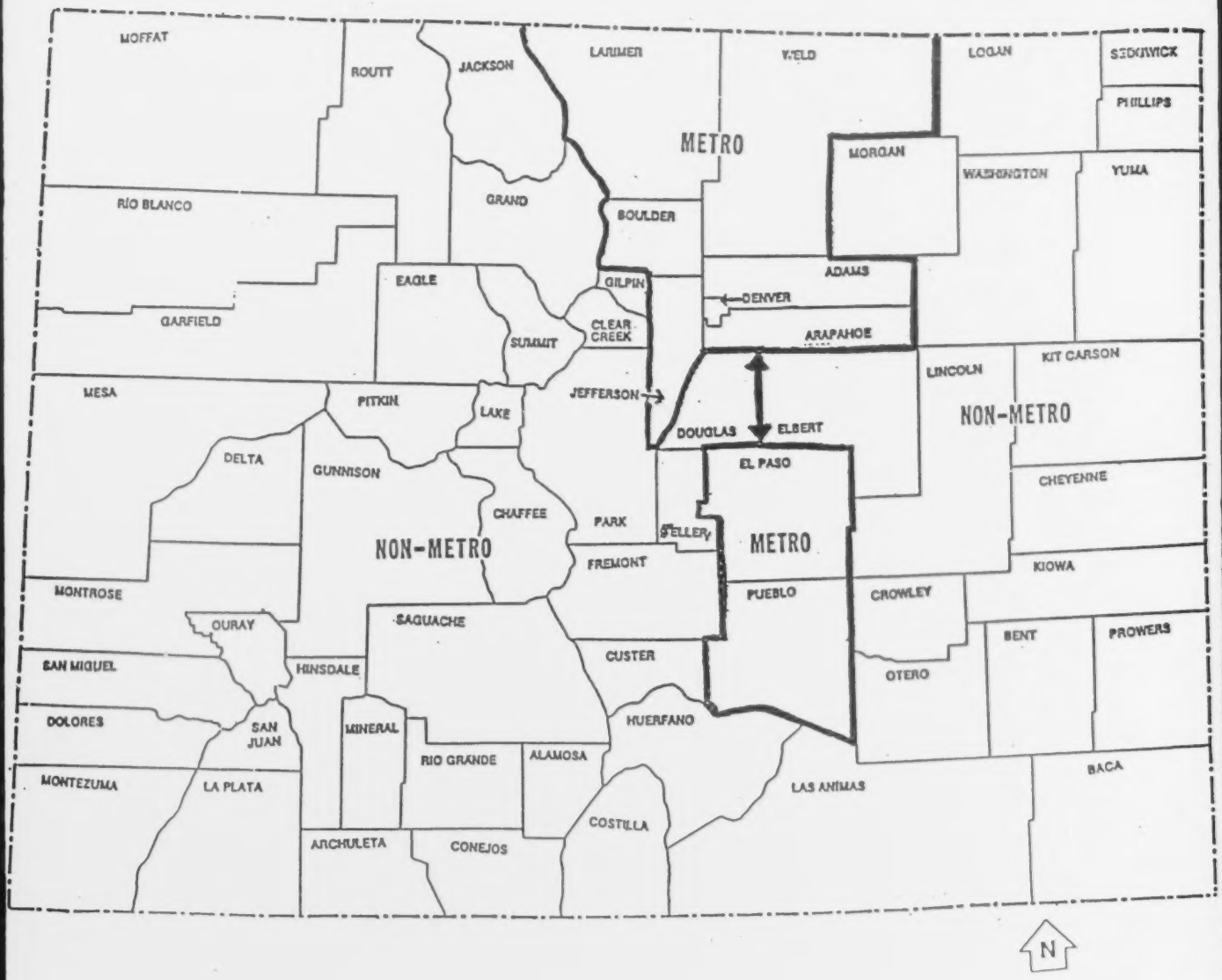


Figure 3:

Colorado Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Areas, 1980



characterized by energy and natural resource development, exurban residence, year-round recreation, tourism and related construction activities, strong remnants of the 1960-70s counterculture, a relatively young, highly educated population that is almost entirely non-minority, etc.; (5) a rural region of Great Plains type contemporary agriculture, produce processing and limited light manufacturing; and (6) a remote rural area mixing marginal large- and small-scale farming and grazing, regional commerce, seasonal "through tourism", a large hispanic population and strong residual Spanish traditions in general, several Indian reservations, etc.

Findings

U.S. Census data show a national average of 13 percent in poverty. Some regional variation occurs, with the South having the highest percentage of poor (approaching 17 percent), and other regions being near the national average. In all U.S.regions, persons with the following characteristics are over-represented in poverty: minorities (often 30 - 40+ percent), those with minimal education (30 - 40+ percent), female householders (roughly 35 percent), unemployed persons (20+ percent), children and adolescents (20+ percent), and residents of central cities, non-metropolitan areas and farms (commonly 20+ percent). (Data from Census/Fenler, 1984, passim.) In U.S. areas where non-traditional economic activities are emerging, such as new natural resource development, poverty rates often decline substantially, but remain relatively high for persons in high-risk categories just noted (Elo and Beale, 1984?: passim).

Colorado sample data summarized in Table 1A - C show the state's 1980 average to be about 10 percent in poverty, with the adult average about 9 percent and the youth average between 11 and 12 percent. Variations in poverty among regions of the state are considerable, with: (1) the Denver SMSA, excluding the central city, being about 6 percent for adults and 8 percent for youth; (2) other SMSAs averaging 10 percent for adults and 11 percent for youth; (3) the least-traditional non-metropolitan area (West mountains) being slightly under 10 percent for adults and youth; (4) the Eastern agricultural region averaging about 12 percent for adults and almost 20 percent for youth; and (5) the remote Southern area averaging almost 18% for adults and 19% for youth. (6) Denver Central City shows adult rates of 10%, which are more typical of the outlying SMSAs and Western Mountain Region, and youth rates of 19%, which are most like those of the traditional rural regions. Mean total, wage, public assistance and Social Security incomes are noted for poverty categories and regions in Appendix 1A - D. Significance tests show the regions being focused on here (underlined in the stub of Table 1 - B) show differences beyond the .0001 level, as does the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan comparison which shows greater non-metropolitan poverty. Compared with the Denver suburban area, adults and children in remote, traditional areas of the state are two to three times as likely to be in poverty, other characteristics left unconsidered. Overall, these findings support our expectations that poverty increases as geographical access to non-traditional economic activity decreases, except that the incidence of poverty in Denver central city more resembles that of outlying areas than of its SMSA.

The Denver central city situation illustrates that differential access to economic opportunities is only partly a matter of geographical proximity, and

Tables 1 A - C :
Detailed Distributions of Poverty and Marginally Poor Persons
In Colorado Areas, 1980, in Percents*

Area	Adults (19+)				Youth			
	In Pov.	Marg.	Other	Total (Nx100)	In Pov.	Marg.	Other	Total (Nx100)
A. STATE:	8.9	8.2	92.9	100 (20022)	11.5	10.1	78.4	100 (8619)
Apportd. Ad. & You.	6.2	5.7	57.9	———	3.5	3.0	23.6	100 (28641)
B1. METRO:								
DENV. SMSA:								
Denv. C.C.	10.4	8.7	80.9	100 (3769)	19.0	12.7	68.3	100 (1251)
Rest SMSA	6.2	5.1	88.8	100 (7537)	7.6	5.8	86.6	100 (3506)
Adams	6.6	6.5	86.9	100 (1697)	9.7	7.6	82.7	100 (883)
Aurora	4.5	5.6	89.9	100 (889)	9.5	6.8	83.8	100 (370)
Arapahoe	3.8	4.9	91.3	100 (1108)	6.9	6.3	86.8	100 (539)
Boulder	13.0	6.4	80.6	100 (1309)	10.9	5.0	84.1	100 (516)
Lakewood	3.3	5.5	91.2	100 (758)	2.7	6.8	90.4	100 (293)
Oth. Jeff.	4.3	2.4	93.3	100 (1776)	4.9	3.5	91.6	100 (905)
OTH. SMSAs:	9.6	10.1	80.3	100 (4762)	11.0	12.8	76.1	100 (2078)
Ft. Collins	9.6	8.8	81.6	100 (1086)	6.9	7.6	85.5	100 (408)
Greeley	12.7	10.6	76.7	100 (739)	9.8	12.2	78.0	100 (254)
Colo. Sprg.	8.0	10.3	81.7	100 (2100)	11.0	15.0	74.1	100 (1010)
Pueblo	10.5	11.0	78.5	100 (837)	16.0	13.3	70.7	100 (406)
B2. NON-METRO:								
West Mtns.:	9.5	8.9	81.6	100 (2154)	9.3	10.1	80.6	100 (863)
Cent. Mtns.	10.0	7.9	82.1	100 (480)	12.2	7.8	80.0	100 (205)
N.C. Mtns.	11.3	10.9	77.8	100 (870)	10.8	14.4	74.8	100 (361)
Energy West	7.3	7.3	85.3	100 (804)	5.4	6.4	88.2	100 (297)
East Plains	12.3	13.4	74.2	100 (924)	19.5	13.7	66.7	100 (502)
So.Cent./S.W.	17.6	15.5	66.9	100 (876)	18.6	20.3	61.1	100 (419)
C. NON/METRO:								
Metropolitan	8.2	7.4	84.4	100 (16068)	10.7	9.2	80.1	100 (6835)
Non-Metro.	12.0	11.4	76.6	100 (3954)	14.3	13.5	72.1	100 (1784)

* Based on 1% random sample of households in 1980 US Census; sample from PUMS Series A tapes supplied by the Demographic Section, Division of Local Government, State of Colorado. Some areas noted do not correspond precisely with political units but are used as general descriptive names. Implied tables of mutually-exclusive area categories showed statistically significant difference between areas beyond the .0001 level. Underlined areas are those focused on in subsequent analysis, as explained in the text. Poverty status is by official definition; marginally poor includes those within 50% above the poverty line.

Summary Tables 2 A - L

Poverty and Marginally Poor Status Persons in Colorado Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Natural Areas by Sex, Minority Status, English Language Ability, Rural and Farm Residence, Marital and Dependent Children Status, Disability Status, Education Level Attained and Present School Enrollment, Employment Status, Occupational Type and Industry Type for Adults and Youth (as relevant) in Percents.

Personal/ Family Characteristic	Colorado Totals					Metropolitan Colorado Areas									Non-metropolitan Colorado Areas								
						Denver Central City			Rest Denver SMSA			Other State SMSA			West & North, Central Mountains			Eastern Plains			South Central & Southwest		
	In Pov	Mar	Oth	% Tot.	Total (Nx100)	In Pov	Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)
A. AGE																							
18 & less	12	10	78	100	(8619)	19	13	(1251)	8	6	(3506)	11	13	(2078)	9	10	(863)	20	14	(502)	19	20	(419)
19 - 35	11	9	81	100	(9505)	12	10	(1707)	8	6	(3789)	12	11	(2292)	12	9	(1005)	12	13	(380)	15	14	(332)
36 - 55	5	5	90	100	(6053)z	8	5	(999)z	3	3	(2459)z	5	6	(1401)z	5	5	(660)z	10	8	(267)z	15	14	(267)z
56 plus	11	12	78	100	(4464)	11	11	(1063)	7	7	(1289)	10	13	(1069)	12	15	(489)	16	19	(277)	24	19	(277)
Totals (a)	10	9	82	100	(28641)	13	10	(5020)	7	5	(11043)	10	11	(6840)	9	9	(3017)	15	14	(1426)	18	17	(1295)
Ad. (19+) Tot.	9	8	83	100	(20022)	10	9	(3769)	6	5	(7537)	10	10	(4762)	10	9	(2154)	12	13	(924)	18	16	(876)
B. SEX																							
Adults: (b)																							
Male	7	7	86	100	(9699)z	8	8	(1771)z	5	4	(3685)z	8	9	(2290)z	8	7	(1087)z	11	12	(447)x	14	16	(419)x
Female	10	9	81	100	(10323)z	13	9	(1998)z	7	6	(3852)z	11	11	(2472)z	11	11	(1067)z	14	15	(477)x	21	16	(457)x
Youth:																							
Male	12	10	79	100	(4452)ns	19	13	(633)ns	8	6	(1852)ns	12	12	(1029)ns	10	11	(454)ns	18	16	(267)ns	21	20	(217)ns
Female	11	10	78	100	(4167)ns	19	13	(618)ns	8	6	(1654)ns	10	14	(1049)ns	9	10	(409)ns	21	12	(235)ns	16	20	(202)ns
C. MINORITY (c)																							
Adults:																							
Not Minority	8	7	85	100	(17060)	7	7	(2678)z	6	5	(6819)z	9	10	(4058)z	9	9	(2046)z	11	13	(829)z	14	12	(630)z
Minority	17	13	70	100	(2962)z	18	13	(1091)z	12	8	(718)z	14	13	(704)z	18	16	(108)z	28	20	(95)z	27	24	(246)z
Youth:																							
Not Minority	8	8	84	100	(6575)	7	7	(525)	6	5	(2985)z	8	12	(1627)z	9	9	(791)y	15	13	(415)z	13	14	(232)z
Minority	23	16	61	100	(2044)z	28	17	(726)z	15	10	(521)z	21	14	(451)z	13	19	(72)y	44	18	(87)z	25	28	(187)z
D. LANGUAGE (d)																							
Adults:																							
Engl. Only	8	7	85	100	(17728)	9	8	(3166)	6	5	(6852)	9	9	(4234)	9	8	(2029)	11	13	(814)	13	12	(633)
Engl. + Oth.	16	14	70	100	(2029)z	17	14	(520)z	11	7	(609)z	14	16	(475)z	12	20	(113)z	24	18	(96)z	28	24	(216)z
Little Engl.	29	22	49	100	(265)	36	21	(83)	22	18	(76)	25	28	(53)	25	8	(12)	36	29	(14)	30	26	(27)
Youth:																							
Engl. Only	11	10	80	100	(7993)	18	13	(1099)	7	5	(3308)	11	13	(1964)	9	9	(828)	18	14	(465)	18	17	(329)
Engl. + Oth.	17	21	62	100	(539)z	19	15	(115)z	12	17	(162)z	16	16	(106)x	9	46	(35)z	40	17	(35)y	22	33	(86)y
Little Engl.	47	5	48	100	(87)	65	3	(37)	33	0	(36)	38	13	(8)	0	0	(0)	50	0	(2)	25	50	(4)
E. RURAL-FARM (e)																							
Adults:																							
Non-rural	9	8	83	100	(18026)	10	9	(3769)	6	5	(7141)	10	10	(4326)	10	9	(1564)	12	14	(680)	19	15	(546)
Ru. Non-fm.	9	8	84	100	(1578)ns	-	-	-nr-	5	1	(372)y	3	6	(320)z	9	8	(503)ns	13	13	(123)ns	17	17	(260)ns
Ru. Farm	11	8	81	100	(418)	-	-	-nr-	4	0	(24)	12	10	(116)	7	3	(87)	13	8	(121)	10	14	(70)
Youth:																							
Non-rural	11	10	78	100	(7524)	19	13	(1251)	8	6	(3258)	11	14	(1844)	7	12	(548)	22	15	(361)	18	17	(262)
Ru. Non-fm.	12	8	81	100	(883)x	-	-	-nr-	9	0	(236)y	5	5	(178)z	14	7	(267)y	18	10	(77)x	20	24	(125)ns
Ru. Farm	13	13	74	100	(212)	-	-	-nr-	0	0	(12)	18	14	(56)	10	6	(48)	9	11	(64)	19	31	(32)
F1. MARITAL (f)																							
Adults:																							
Single	17	12	71	100	(6859)	17	11	(1765)	13	9	(2399)	20	13	(1495)	19	14	(719)	20	18	(224)	30	20	(257)
Married	5	6	88	100	(13163)z	5	6	(2004)z	3	3	(5138)z	5	9	(3367)z	5	7	(1435)z	10	12	(700)z	13	14	(619)z
F2. MAR.-CHILD (g)																							
Adults:																							
Sing., No Ch.	6	7	87	100	(1518)	9	4	(386)	4	4	(538)	6	11	(332)	6	7	(142)	7	23	(56)	15	11	(64)
Mar., No Ch.	4	5	91	100	(6250)	3	5	(1189)	2	3	(2199)	4	7	(1548)	4	6	(720)	10	10	(313)z	11	9	(281)z
Mar., Dep. Ch.	6	8	87	100	(6913)z	7	9	(815)z	3	4	(2939)z	6	10	(1719)z	6	7	(715)z	10	13	(387)z	14	19	(338)z
Sing.,Dep. Ch.	20	13	67	100	(5341)	19	14	(1379)	16	10	(1861)	23	14	(1163)	22	15	(577)	24	17	(168)	35	22	(193)
G. DISABILITY (h)																							
Adults:																							
Not Disabled	8	7	85	100	(17812)	9	8	(3257)	6	4	(6889)	9	9	(4222)	8	8	(1910)	12	11	(793)	14	14	(741)
Disab., Workg.	11	10	78	100	(987)z	14	10	(205)z	8	9	(351)z	12	9	(234)z	13	14	(112)z	11	13	(45)z	28	18	(40)z
" , Can't Wk.	22	20	59	100	(1223)	22	16	(307)	18	15	(297)	19	21	(306)	23	24	(132)	21	33	(86)	39	24	(95)
H1. EDUCATION																							
Adults:																							
LT H.S. Grad	17	15	69	100	(4044)	21	14	(936)	12	10	(1149)	15	16	(971)	13	16	(413)	22	22	(271)	28	23	(304)
H.S. Grad	7	8	85	100	(6618)	9	7	(1135)z	5	6	(2496)z	7	10	(1644)z	9	8	(710)z	11	11	(363)z	16	12	(270)z
Some Coll.	9	7	84	100	(5228)z	7	7	(912)z	8	4	(2084)z	12	9	(1269)z	10	7	(591)z	5	11	(177)z	12	13	(195)z
Coll. Grad +	5	4	91	100	(4132)	6	6	(718)	3	2	(1808)	6	5	(878)	7	7	(440)	6	4	(113)	5	7	(107)

Personal/ Family Characteristic	Colorado Totals					Metropolitan Colorado Areas									Non-metropolitan Colorado Areas								
						Denver Central City			Rest Denver SMSA			Other State SMSA			West & North, Central Mountains			Eastern Plains			South Central & Southwest		
	In Pov	In Mar	Och	% Tot.	Total (Nx100)	In Pov	In Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	In Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	In Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	In Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	In Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)	In Pov	In Mar	Subtot. (Nx100)
H2. SCH. ENROLMT (i)																							
Adults:																							
Not Enrolled	8	8	84	100	(18444)	10	9	(3472)^{ns}	5	5	(6902)^{z}	8	10	(4288)^{z}	9	9	(2046)^{z}	13	14	(897)^{ns}	18	15	(839)^{ns}
Enrolled	20	11	70	100	(1578)^{z}	13	10	(297)^{ns}	19	8	(635)^{z}	26	13	(474)^{z}	25	15	(108)^{z}	7	11	(27)^{ns}	16	27	(37)^{ns}
I. MIGRATION (j)																							
Adults:																							
Non-migrant	8	8	84	100	(12601)	10	9	(2674)^{x}	5	5	(4261)^{z}	8	8	(3073)^{z}	9	9	(1227)^{ns}	13	13	(712)^{ns}	17	16	(654)^{ns}
Migr., 75-80	11	9	81	100	(7421)^{z}	12	9	(1095)^{x}	8	6	(3276)^{z}	13	13	(1689)^{z}	11	8	(927)^{ns}	10	14	(212)^{ns}	21	14	(222)^{ns}
J. EMPLOYMENT (k)																							
Adults:																							
Not in L.F.	16	13	72	100	(6132)	19	13	(1233)	12	8	(1914)	16	14	(1611)	15	14	(678)	18	20	(354)	28	22	(342)
Unemployed	14	13	73	100	(676)z	14	11	(118)z	11	9	(210)z	17	16	(200)z	11	14	(91)z	17	13	(24)z	18	27	(33)z
Employed	6	6	89	100	(13214)	6	7	(2418)	4	4	(5413)	6	8	(2951)	7	6	(1385)	9	9	(546)	10	11	(501)
K. OCCUPATION (l)																							
Adults:																							
Laborer	10	9	81	100	(2189)	13	8	(415)	7	7	(782)	9	11	(565)	9	11	(224)	16	9	(96)	17	19	(107)
Crafts,Farm	8	8	85	100	(2575)	8	8	(346)	6	4	(872)	8	9	(625)	8	8	(374)	14	10	(209)	12	15	(149)
Services	8	8	84	100	(7603)^{z}	8	9	(1472)^{z}	6	5	(3007)^{z}	10	10	(1814)^{z}	10	7	(770)^{z}	7	13	(269)^{z}	16	11	(271)^{z}
Mgr., Prof.	4	4	92	100	(4132)	5	5	(766)	3	2	(1842)	4	5	(835)	4	7	(430)	3	9	(136)	5	6	(123)
Totals					(16499)			(2999)			(6503)			(3839)			(1798)			(710)			(650)
L. INDUSTRY CAT. (m)																							
Adults:																							
Traditional	12	8	80	100	(1771)	15	12	(234)	9	6	(475)	12	9	(387)	9	6	(363)	16	11	(169)	18	11	(143)
Intermed.	8	8	85	100	(8943)z	8	8	(1627)z	6	5	(3255)z	9	9	(2254)z	8	9	(1001)ns	7	11	(425)x	12	14	(381)ns
Recent	6	5	89	100	(5834)	6	5	(1142)	4	4	(2788)	7	7	(1221)	7	6	(436)	11	10	(117)	12	12	(130)
Totals					(16548)			(3003)			(6518)			(3862)			(1800)			(711)			(654)

* From a 1 % sample of households (group quarters excluded) in the 1980 US Census of Colorado as provided on PUMS Series A tapes. Chi Square Goodness of Fit tests show the sample representative of the population on reported 100 % count variables for all PUMS state regions at or beyond the .01 level. Poverty status is by official definition; marginal status is within 50 % above the poverty line.

a. Totals for columns remain constant throughout the table except as noted for subtables K and L; thus percent totals are not repeated to simplify presentation and interpretation. Likewise, once "others" are presented in the state total tables, they, and indication of 100 % totals, are omitted from the presentation. Regional column data presented should be interpreted exactly as with comparable columns in the state totals. Approximate numbers and percentages omitted can be reconstructed from the implied 100 %s and total row numbers, which include the unpresented "other" category. Percents are rounded to the nearest whole number to facilitate comparative visual interpretation. The letter codes ns, x, y and z indicate the level of significance of the subtable as noted below.

b. Adults are those 19 +. Youth data are presented only when the explanatory variable is meaningful for them and/or their presentation facilitates fuller interpretation of adult patterns (e.g., the adult gender bias).

c. Minorities include all non-white persons and persons of hispanic origin.

d. English only implies English as the principal language of regular domestic usage or the non-applicability of the item for children under 3 years; English plus other language implies another principal language, but with English speaking skill classified by Census as "well" or "very well"; little English indicates another principal language with poor or no verbal English ability.

e. The PUMS A tapes do not include a rural-urban residence variable, but do provide an agricultural sales variable with a not-applicable code for "urban, city or suburban lot or place of less than 1 acre," a rural nonfarm category where 1979 agricultural sales were less than $1000, and a farm category where agricultural sales were $1000 or more. A note with the rural nonfarm category cautions "not all rural nonfarm is included," but does not indicate what is excluded; the vast majority of Colorado rural nonfarm households are included.

f. Single includes widowed, divorced, separated and single; married means both spouses presently reside together.

g. The married - child variable is a composite of two Census variables: (1) whether individual household residents are married or not, and (2) whether their household contains dependent children (but not necessarily those of each resident). Thus, single childless persons and elderly without children present but occupying a household with dependent children are classified as "single [in household] with dependent child." The majority of people so classified, however, are single parents.

h. No disability; a disability not preventing ability to work; a disability which prevents the person from working.

i. Enrolled means the individual was enrolled in some type of public, private or church educational program, not necessarily full-time, during February to April, 1980. Note that persons living in group quarters such as college dormatories, military barracks, rooming houses, prisons, nursing homes, etc. are not included in this sample, probably under-stating enrollment patterns in relation to poverty status.

j. Migrants are those who lived in a different state or Colorado county in 1975 than in 1980; children born since 1975 are considered non-migrants.

k. Not in labor force includes those not employed and not seeking work or unable to work; unemployed are those without jobs but able to work and seeking employment; employed include those with civilian or military jobs, whether or not they were working at the time of enumeration.

l. Occupation categories combine Census' specific 1980 occupational codes as follows: laborer, 703 - 889; crafts/farm, 473 - 699; services, 203 - 469 and military personnel from the employment status variable; managerial/professional, 003 - 199. Excludes those not in the labor force.

m. Industry codes were combined to produce categories of work in terms of their recency of prominance in the state's economic activity opportunity structure, as elaborated in the text: (1) traditional: very prominant in Colorado economic activity by 1900 (e.g., farming, mining, smelting, logging and milling, etc.); (2) intermediate: industries which emerged to established prominance by 1945 (e.g., construction, commercial food processing, mechanized transportation, wholesale and mass-marketing retail trade, military activities, general medical, educational and personal services, routine government services, etc.); (3) recent: economic activities assuming prominence since 1945 (e.g., chemical and petroleum industries, precision instruments and electronics, arts and entertainment, specialized finance, investment and insurance, advertising, leisure and tourism, specialized professional services like psychiatry, consulting engineering and social work, etc.) Excludes those not in the labor force.

nr: not relevant; ns: not significant; x: significant between .10 and .015; y: significant between .01 and .0015; z: significant at or beyond .001

is largely, as well, a matter of differential social proximity or accessibility. When social preference patterns of employers and others are combined with differential demographic composition of socio-economic units, we should expect unequal access to opportunities and clear patterns of differential socio-economic wellbeing along the lines of social identity categories like age, sex and minority status. The data in Table 2A - L show a variety of such patterns, including:

Age. In general, the 35 - 55 age category is the least likely to be in or near poverty. In understanding this finding, recall that this is a relatively small population cohort, minimizing internal employment competition, and that it came into economic activity during the rapid commercial and industrial expansion of the post-World War II period (Kennedy, 1986). All they have had to do to preserve their early advantage is remain active. The data further show that the age differentials in incidence of poverty is generally less in the suburban, small SMSA and non-traditional non-metropolitan areas; that youth are particularly over-represented in poverty in older, larger, more-industrial central cities (reference Denver and Pueblo in Table 1B); and that the young and old are disproportionately poor in the traditional non-metropolitan areas of the state (which was a clear national pattern until a substantial decline occured in elderly poverty in recent years--Census, 1984).

Sex. Among youth, no gender differential occurs, but, by adulthood, females are somewhat over-represented among those in or near poverty in all state regions. Some of this is due responsibilities for dependent children and other considerations to be noted later, but, beyond these, some sex bias in access to employment seems to exist in Colorado, which, overall, is perhaps less traditional in defining women's roles than much of the rest of the nation.

Minority Status. Across Colorado, non-white and Hispanic adults are approximately twice as likely as majority persons to be in poverty, and, in most areas, minority youth are nearly three times as likely as their majority counterparts. Statewide, this means about 30 percent of minority adults and 40 percent of minority youth are in or near poverty. In traditional non-metropolitan areas, roughly half of all minority persons are officially or marginally poor. This clearly demonstrates the social preference patterns which limit access to economic opportunity for minority persons, even in a state that has a strong affirmative action emphasis and prides itself in fair treatment of everyone.

English Language Skills. Spoken English is even more strongly associated with poverty than is the related matter of ethnicity. This suggests conceptions of personal value are tied to popular notions of how prepared persons are to fit into the cultural and market mainstreams of the state more than on the basis of ethnicity per se. In general, Colorado adults with limited English skills are from three to four times as likely to be impoverished, and about twice as likely even when they have good English skills in addition to another language. The pattern among youth is even more pronounced, although the number speaking other languages is low. Expressed in absolute proportions, more than half of those with limited English are in or near poverty statewide, and, in traditional non-metropolitan and Denver central city areas, at least two-thirds of limited-English adults and youth

are in or near poverty.

Rural and Farm Residence. Although metropolitan residents are somewhat less likely to be in poverty than non-metropolitan residents, as noted above, rural nonfarm and farm residence does not seem to make much of a difference for adult poverty in Colorado. Presumably, the greater difference in regional opportunity structure reflected in the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan differences, coupled with the relative ease of local travel and the small number of rural Coloradans, makes this a relatively unimportant consideration for understanding state adult poverty patterns. Among the youth, the statistically significant differences that occur do not show a consistent pattern.

Marital Status and Dependent Children. For us, one of the surprises of this analysis was finding a strong relationship between being single and being impoverished. Statewide, single adults are between three and four times as likely as married persons to be in poverty, and about twice a likely to be near poverty. This means that, statewide, almost 30 percent of single adults are officially or marginally poor, a proportion that increases to about one-half of single adults in traditional non-metropolitan areas. Noting this, we created a new variable that came as close as we could to factoring in responsibilities for dependent children (Table 2F2). Although a problematic variable among the "single in household with dependent children" (note table footnote g), it is probable that a large number of unmarried parents in the state accounts for a great deal of the poverty among those who are single. Specifically, Table 2F2 data show that about one-third of single adults in households with dependent children are in or near poverty statewide, a proportion that increases to over one-half in the most traditional and remote of non-metropolitan areas. Table 3 data show women to more likely be the single parent with responsibility for dependent children, partly accounting for the higher percentage of women in poverty. As well, family or non-family group living arrangements contribute some single persons without their own dependent children to the high numbers in this household category (which probably more reflects than contributs to their poverty status). Beyond this, it seems likely that there is a social preference bias among some employers and others which characterize the single of either sex, particularly those in unorthodox living arrangements, as less reliable or responsible, and/or less fitted-in the socio-economic mainstream.

Disabilities. Not surprisingly, disabilities that prevent work made persons from two to three times as likely to be in poverty, and considerably more likely than the unimpaired, even when the disability does not prevent work. Statewide, more than 40 percent of those who cannot work due to disabilities are in or near poverty, and, in traditional non-metropolitan areas, the figure increases to over one-half. Those with disabilities permitting work still fall in the 25 to 35 percent range except for the suburban and small SMSA areas, where the percentages are a little lower.

Education and Current Enrollment. Again, as one would expect, there is a general relationship between being less-educated and being more likely in or near poverty. Specifically, those adults with less than high school completion are three to four times as likely to be impoverished as are those with college completion. This translates, statewide, to about 30 percent of those with less than high school graduation being in or near poverty; regional

differences range from just over 20 percent in suburban areas to about 50 percent in the most remote traditional non-metropolitan area. Between the extremes of the less-than-high school to college-graduate categories, the patterns are more complicated. For the entire state, there is not much difference in poverty status between high school graduates and college graduates, but those with only some college are the most likely of the three to be in poverty. When comparing differences among state regions for the some-college category, part of the reason for this becomes apparent. Those areas where the some-college people are most over-represented in poverty are the same Colorado regions where the larger colleges and universities are located. Many of those in poverty in these areas can be assumed to be suffering the financial burden of college plus highly competitive local job markets. As well, there is probably some effect of non-enrolled "campus-edge fellow travelers" (as suggested by the high Boulder overall poverty percentages in Table 1B).

Table 2H2 demonstrates a strong relationship between being enrolled in an educational program and being in poverty. State totals show those adults enrolled (many, part-time) in all types of school programs are from two to three times as likely in poverty as non-enrolled persons, and the differences are even greater in the areas where college and other types of post-secondary educational offerings are most common and accessible. In absolute proportions, about 30 percent of enrolled adults are in or near poverty statewide, and, in areas of concentrated educational offerings, the figure approaches 40 percent. The fact that poverty-enrollment patterns in Table 2H2 are considerably stronger than the some-college patterns of Table 2H1 suggest much of the enrollment differential is due those attending non-baccalaureate programs. This prompts an interesting question of cause and effect: does being an adult student make one impoverished, or does being in poverty prompt one to escape it through further education? Doubtless both occur. Duncan's (1984) findings on the temporary nature of much poverty (several years is common) and these enrollment data suggests non-baccalaureate and part-time schooling in general is seen as a poverty-escape strategy or temporary sacrifice among many adults who have access to educational programs. Those Colorado areas where routine and special adult education programs are the least developed are the same areas in which the poverty-enrollment patterns noted are weakest or reversed.

Migration. Several different themes occur in the literature on migration-income relationships. Some scholars like Wardwell and Gilchrist (1984) show average increases in income of migrants, presumably because they are pulled toward better opportunities, taking skills where they are needed. Others (see Gardner's and other's papers in DeJong and Gardner, 1981) note the socio-economic refugee patterns, where the most-disadvantaged are often pushed into human dumping-grounds for survival. Both certainly occur to some degree, having a cancelling-out effect on aggregate migration-income/poverty data. Both also follow a relative opportunity structure theme, although of somewhat different forms. Using the imperfect Census definition of migration status (residing in a different county or state in 1975 and 1980), the Colorado data show migrants in general are somewhat more likely to be in poverty than non-migrants, lending support to the refugee proposition among the worst-off. Although the Colorado economic opportunity structure is generally considered a very open one, partly accounting for the heavy in-migration to the state throughout the 1970s and before, this opportunity structure doubtless gives

greater employment access to those who are more settled in the system. Table 3 data show the migrants, on average, to be younger adults with more education and a greater likelihood to be enrolled in school.

Employment. Across the state, the data show those who are not employed are from two to three times as likely to be in or near poverty as those who are employed. What is most impressive about Table 2J data is that those out of the labor force are consistently more likely in poverty than those who are unemployed. Overall, roughly one of three state residents who are either out of the labor force or unemployed are in or near poverty. Between regions the familiar pattern holds: the proportion of those in or near poverty in these categories tends to increase as we shift consideration from suburban areas through small SMSA, central city and non-traditional non-metropolitan areas to traditional non-metropolitan areas (where the most remote of these shows 50 percent of persons out of the labor force and 45 percent of those unemployed to be in or near poverty). Presumably many of those not in the labor force have given up looking for work, or are prevented from working by disabilities or circumstance like age, family responsibilities, etc. (as shown in Table 3). This doubtless partly accounts for the gender differential in poverty noted earlier.

Occupation and Industry. For those in the labor force, persons with the highest occupational status (managerial and professional) are from two to three times less likely in poverty than those with the lowest occupational status (laborers) in general. In most Colorado regions, those in the service occupations do not fare well, comparatively, despite these being touted as the post-industrial area of occupational opportunity.

To further explore types of employment activity in terms of their recentness, or non-traditionality, in the state opportunity structure, industries were categorized according to whether they were traditional by 1900, emergent to prominance between 1900 and 1945, or more recent. Table 2L data show that in metropolitan areas--those most benefitting from recent employment opportunities--persons in old-traditional industries are several times as likely in poverty than are those in recent industries. In non-metropolitan areas, the differences are not so great.

Table 3, a Pearson correlation matrix (including all variables considered to this point and some additional ones), is included for those who wish to further explore second-order relationships relevant to interpreting basic data patterns. As noted in comments to the tabular presentations, some variables like age do not show a clear linear relationship with poverty or other variables, reducing their explanatory utility in this correlation matrix. The reformulation of other variables, like employment status, to facilitate their linear interpretation tends to weaken their effects in statistical analysis. Never the less, additional insights on patterns noted above are available in these correlation data.

Taking this reasoning another step, multiple correlation/regression analysis of adult data was done for regions of the state as summarized in Table 4 (where the Denver SMSA, minus central city, and the other SMSAs were combined, given their highly-similar bivariate coefficients on regional tables like the state Table 3).

Overall, this analysis shows that roughly 40 percent of the total variance in poverty/marginal status is explained by the major variables (minus industry) used in the cross-tabulation summaries, assuming the appropriateness of linear interpretations, which is not always the case. In consideration of this modest level of explained variance, we should note that many relevant social-psychological variables like alienation from the marketplace and self-confidence were not available on the PUMS tapes even in the form of surrogate indicators. Similarly, many particularistic considerations like assertiveness, unique skill combinations, personal connections, or even numbers of children, were not available. Further, the relatively small percentage of the state's population in or near poverty makes this a variable where most cases fall into the residual "other" category, making it probable that the explanatory variable's variation also was concentrated in that single poverty category. Even so, some interpretations of these multiple correlation/regression summary results are informative.

In all cases, the marital status variable was among the most important ones considered in explaining poverty status, as was, in most regional cases, the employment status variable. In Denver central city and in the most-traditional non-metropolitan area, minority status also came high on the explanatory list, contributing from two to three percent of the remaining unexplained variance. In the state areas where most educational opportunities are concentrated (Tables 4 B and C), present enrollment also fell high on the list, but contributed little to the reduction of remaining unexplained variance. In the most-traditional non-metropolitan regions of the state (Tables 4 D and E), education completed showed relatively high bivariate correlation with poverty, and reasonable contributions to total variance explained, but, in areas with a higher proportion of minority persons, education level and minority status showed interactive overlap.

Some variables that showed clear patterns in the tabular presentations have minor overall effect in these regressions because they represent relatively few cases in the total Colorado population (e.g., disability status and English-other language). Other variables had relatively little overall effect, of course, because they produced low correlations (e.g., sex, rural-farm residence, age) and/or their effects were combined with those of other variables (e.g., language).

Summary and Concluding Comments

The persons more likely to be in or near poverty in Colorado in 1980 are: (1) residents of Denver central city or traditional non-metropolitan areas (in many regards, Denver city shows more similarities to these areas than the state's SMSAs); (2) young in Denver, and young and old in traditional rural non-metropolitan areas; (3) females; (4) minority persons; (5) those with limited English skills; and, among adults, (6) single, particularly in households with dependent children; (7) disabled; (8) less educated, and, in areas with extensive educational offerings, enrolled in school at least part-time; (9) migrants; (10) those out of the labor force and unemployed; (11) laborers, and, in smaller SMSAs and some non-metropolitan areas, service persons; and (12) those working in traditional (vs. recent) industries. Of these variables, location, marital, minority and employment status generally

Tables 3 and 4 Variable Abbreviations and Codes:

DISAB1 - Disability: 0 no disability, 1 disabil. permitting work, 2 disabil. preventing work
ENROL1 - Current school enrollment: 0 not enrol., 1 enrolled, 1980
FARM1 - Farm residence: 0 not farm, 1 farm ($1000 ag. sales, 1979)
LANG1 - Language: 0 Engl. only or n.a., 1 good Engl + other, 2 limited Engl. + other
MIGR1 - Migration: 0 same county 1975-80, 1 diff. county 1975-80
MIN1 - Minority: 0 not minority, 1 non-white or Hispanic
POV1 - Poverty status: 1 in pov., 2 marginal, 3 above marginal
OCC1 - Occupation categ.: 0 not in LF, 1 labor, 2 crafts/farm, 3 service, 4 professional/managerial
REG1 - Colo. region: 1 Denv. SMSA incl. cent. city, 2 other SMSA, 3 west, 4 east, 5 south
RUR1 - Rural residence: 0 not rural, 1 rural (farm & nonfarm)
SCHG - School completed: 1 LT HS, 2 HS grad., 3 some coll., 4 coll. grad +
VAR15 - Householder (old head of HH) status: 0 not head, 1 head
VAR16 - Sex: 0 male, 1 female
VAR47 - Social security income: (actual $, 1979)
VAR48 - Public assistance income: (actual $, 1979)
VAR49 - Total income: (actual $, 1979)
XAGE1 - Age: 1 LT 19, 2 19-35, 3 36-55, 4 56+
XDEPCH1 - Dependent child in household: 1 dep. child., 2 no dep. child.
XEMPLST2- Employment status: 0 out of LF or unemployed, 1 employed
XFAM3 - Single with dependent child(-ren) in household: 1 other than single w/ dep. child. in HH, 2 single w/ dep. child. in HH
XIND4 - Industry categ. for employed persons: 1 ind. estab. in Colo. by 1900, 2 ind. estab. btwn. 1900 & 1945, 3 post-1945 ind. estab.
XMAR1 - Marital status: 0 not married (incl. separated, divorced, widowed, single), 1 married & living with spouse
XOCC2 - Occupation categ. for employed persons: 1 labor, 2 craft/farm, 3 service, 4 professional/managerial

Table 3. State of Colorado Pearson Correlation Matrix of All Variables Considered in 1980 Poverty Analysis of Adults.
(Regions Combined: Variable Abbreviations and Codes Follow Table)

DISAB1	SCH3	ENROLL1	MIGR1	XEMPLST2	XOCC2	XIND4	VAR49	VAR47	VAR48	POVI
.0478 (200221) P= .001	-.0998 (200221) P= .001	-.0492 (200221) P= .001	-.0587 (200221) P= .001	-.0737 (200221) P= .001	-.0821 (164991) P= .001	-.1991 (165481) P= .001	-.0823 (178321) P= .001	-.0356 (26181) P= .034	.0016 (6511) P= .482	-.1074 (200221) P= .001
.3108 (200221) P= .001	-.2303 (200221) P= .001	-.2020 (200221) P= .001	-.3396 (200221) P= .001	-.3077 (200221) P= .001	.0602 (164991) P= .001	-.0121 (165481) P= .060	.0718 (178321) P= .001	.2158 (26181) P= .001	-.0557 (6511) P= .078	.0027 (200221) P= .350
.0307 (200221) P= .001	-.0949 (200221) P= .001	-.0317 (200221) P= .001	-.0331 (200221) P= .001	-.2797 (200221) P= .001	.1942 (164991) P= .001	.0126 (165481) P= .053	-.3892 (178321) P= .001	-.2854 (26181) P= .001	-.0368 (6511) P= .174	-.0668 (200221) P= .001
.0072 (200221) P= .156	-.2007 (200221) P= .001	.0029 (200221) P= .341	-.0489 (200221) P= .001	-.0264 (200221) P= .001	-.1173 (164991) P= .001	-.0336 (165481) P= .001	-.1021 (178321) P= .001	-.0923 (26181) P= .001	.0947 (6511) P= .008	-.1386 (200221) P= .001
.0490 (200221) P= .001	-.1819 (200221) P= .001	.0066 (200221) P= .174	-.0185 (200221) P= .004	-.0803 (200221) P= .001	-.0896 (164991) P= .001	-.0406 (165481) P= .001	-.0799 (178321) P= .001	-.0618 (26181) P= .001	.0245 (6511) P= .266	-.1486 (200221) P= .001
-.0062 (200221) P= .189	-.0048 (200221) P= .247	-.0371 (200221) P= .001	-.0345 (200221) P= .001	-.0163 (200221) P= .011	-.0250 (164991) P= .001	-.1207 (165481) P= .001	.0439 (178321) P= .001	.0130 (26181) P= .253	-.0274 (6511) P= .243	-.0010 (200221) P= .443
-.0039 (200221) P= .293	-.0194 (200221) P= .003	-.0310 (200221) P= .001	-.0665 (200221) P= .001	-.0051 (200221) P= .237	-.0673 (164991) P= .001	-.1446 (165481) P= .001	.0100 (178321) P= .090	-.0264 (26181) P= .088	.0232 (6511) P= .277	-.0081 (200221) P= .125
-.0444 (200221) P= .001	.0006 (200221) P= .468	-.1712 (200221) P= .001	-.0631 (200221) P= .001	-.0078 (200221) P= .134	.0409 (164991) P= .001	.0137 (165481) P= .039	.1797 (178321) P= .001	.0084 (26181) P= .334	-.0069 (6511) P= .430	.2314 (200221) P= .001
.0355 (200221) P= .001	.0723 (200221) P= .001	-.0458 (200221) P= .001	-.0036 (200221) P= .304	.2329 (200221) P= .001	-.0495 (164991) P= .001	.0131 (165481) P= .046	.3602 (178321) P= .001	.3041 (26181) P= .001	.0454 (6511) P= .048	-.0598 (200221) P= .001
.1515 (200221) P= .001	-.0434 (200221) P= .001	.0405 (200221) P= .001	-.0445 (200221) P= .001	-.0863 (200221) P= .001	.0134 (164991) P= .024	-.0018 (165481) P= .407	-.0865 (178321) P= .001	.0934 (26181) P= .001	-.1983 (6511) P= .001	-.0284 (200221) P= .001
.0181 (200221) P= .005	.0340 (200221) P= .001	.1522 (200221) P= .001	.1018 (200221) P= .001	.0230 (200221) P= .001	-.0102 (164991) P= .094	.0020 (165481) P= .397	-.1228 (178321) P= .001	.0208 (26181) P= .143	.0381 (6511) P= .166	-.2673 (200221) P= .001
1.0000 (0) P=*******	-.2013 (200221) P= .001	-.0626 (200221) P= .001	-.1139 (200221) P= .001	-.3277 (200221) P= .001	-.0447 (164991) P= .001	-.0247 (165481) P= .001	-.1475 (178321) P= .001	.0352 (26181) P= .036	-.0600 (6511) P= .063	-.1543 (200221) P= .001
-.2013 (200221) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.1866 (200221) P= .001	.1765 (200221) P= .001	.2356 (200221) P= .001	.4064 (164991) P= .001	.0984 (165481) P= .001	.2733 (178321) P= .001	.0081 (26181) P= .339	.0259 (6511) P= .255	.1593 (200221) P= .001
-.0626 (200221) P= .001	.1866 (200221) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.1083 (200221) P= .001	-.0127 (200221) P= .036	.0407 (164991) P= .001	-.0092 (165481) P= .118	-.0036 (178321) P= .051	-.0719 (26181) P= .001	.0193 (6511) P= .311	-.1166 (200221) P= .001
-.1139 (200221) P= .001	.1765 (200221) P= .001	.1083 (200221) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.0094 (200221) P= .001	.0464 (164991) P= .001	.0119 (165481) P= .064	-.0769 (178321) P= .001	-.0448 (26181) P= .011	-.0118 (6511) P= .382	-.0513 (200221) P= .001
-.3277 (200221) P= .001	.2356 (200221) P= .001	-.0127 (200221) P= .036	.0094 (200221) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.0531 (164991) P= .001	.0578 (165481) P= .001	.3068 (178321) P= .001	-.1048 (26181) P= .001	-.0736 (6511) P= .030	.2089 (200221) P= .001
-.0447 (164991) P= .001	.4064 (164991) P= .001	.0407 (164991) P= .001	.0464 (164991) P= .001	.0531 (164991) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.0714 (164991) P= .001	.1505 (156691) P= .001	-.0205 (9951) P= .259	.0233 (3201) P= .339	.0690 (164991) P= .001
-.0247 (165481) P= .001	.0984 (165481) P= .001	-.0092 (165481) P= .118	.0119 (165481) P= .064	.0578 (165481) P= .001	.0714 (164991) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.1073 (157001) P= .001	.0599 (10031) P= .029	.1223 (3221) P= .014	.0832 (165481) P= .001
-.1475 (178321) P= .001	.2733 (178321) P= .001	-.0936 (178321) P= .001	-.0769 (178321) P= .001	.3068 (178321) P= .001	.1505 (156691) P= .001	.1073 (157001) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.2343 (26181) P= .001	.2026 (6511) P= .001	.3255 (178321) P= .001
.0352 (26181) P= .036	.0081 (26181) P= .339	-.0719 (26181) P= .001	-.0448 (26181) P= .011	-.1048 (26181) P= .001	-.0205 (9951) P= .259	.0599 (10031) P= .029	.2343 (26181) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.1074 (1661) P= .066	.1940 (26181) P= .001
-.0600 (6511) P= .063	.0259 (6511) P= .255	.0193 (6511) P= .311	-.0118 (6511) P= .382	-.0736 (6511) P= .030	.0233 (3201) P= .339	.1223 (3221) P= .014	.2026 (6511) P= .001	.1074 (1661) P= .066	1.0000 (0) P=*******	.1162 (6511) P= .001
-.1543 (200221) P= .001	.1593 (200221) P= .001	-.1166 (200221) P= .001	-.0513 (200221) P= .001	.2089 (200221) P= .001	.0690 (164991) P= .001	.0832 (165481) P= .001	.3255 (178321) P= .001	.1940 (26181) P= .001	.1162 (6511) P= .001	1.0000 (0) P=*******

Table 3. State of Colorado Pearson Correlation Matrix of All Variables Considered in 1980 Poverty Analysis of Adults (Regions Combined: Variable Abbreviations and Codes Follow Table)

	REG1	XAGE1	VAR16	MIN1	LANG1	RU1	FARM1	XMAR1	VAR15	XDEPCH1	XFAM3
REG1	1.0000 (0) P=.000	.0619 (200221) P=.001	-.0043 (200221) P=.271	-.0105 (200221) P=.070	.0425 (200221) P=.001	.3259 (200221) P=.001	.1057 (200221) P=.001	.0601 (200221) P=.001	-.0022 (200221) P=.380	-.0190 (200221) P=.004	-.0517 (200221) P=.001
XAGE1	.0619 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000	.0466 (200221) P=.001	-.0663 (200221) P=.001	.0321 (200221) P=.001	.0340 (200221) P=.001	.0479 (200221) P=.001	.1295 (200221) P=.001	.1424 (200221) P=.001	.2976 (200221) P=.001	-.1099 (200221) P=.001
VAR16	-.0043 (200221) P=.271	.0466 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000	-.0000 (200221) P=.498	.0190 (200221) P=.004	-.0137 (200221) P=.026	-.0073 (200221) P=.149	-.0486 (200221) P=.001	-.3568 (200221) P=.001	-.0151 (200221) P=.016	.0459 (200221) P=.001
MIN1	-.0105 (200221) P=.070	-.0663 (200221) P=.001	-.0000 (200221) P=.498	1.0000 (0) P=.000	.0032 (200221) P=.001	-.0748 (200221) P=.001	-.0353 (200221) P=.001	-.0413 (200221) P=.001	-.0226 (200221) P=.001	-.1055 (200221) P=.001	.0146 (200221) P=.019
LANG1	.0425 (200221) P=.001	.0321 (200221) P=.001	.0190 (200221) P=.004	.0032 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000	-.0387 (200221) P=.001	-.0202 (200221) P=.002	-.0069 (200221) P=.164	-.0267 (200221) P=.001	-.0488 (200221) P=.001	-.0081 (200221) P=.126
RU1	.3259 (200221) P=.001	.0340 (200221) P=.001	-.0137 (200221) P=.026	-.0748 (200221) P=.001	-.0387 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000	.4388 (200221) P=.001	.1057 (200221) P=.001	-.0269 (200221) P=.001	-.0743 (200221) P=.001	-.0974 (200221) P=.001
FARM1	.1057 (200221) P=.001	.0479 (200221) P=.001	-.0073 (200221) P=.149	-.0353 (200221) P=.001	-.0202 (200221) P=.002	.4388 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000	.0487 (200221) P=.001	-.0142 (200221) P=.022	-.0207 (200221) P=.002	-.0533 (200221) P=.001
XMAR1	.0601 (200221) P=.001	.1295 (200221) P=.001	-.0486 (200221) P=.001	-.0413 (200221) P=.001	-.0069 (200221) P=.164	.1057 (200221) P=.001	.0487 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000	-.1183 (200221) P=.001	-.3187 (200221) P=.001	-.8356 (200221) P=.001
VAR15	-.0022 (200221) P=.380	.1424 (200221) P=.001	-.3568 (200221) P=.001	-.0226 (200221) P=.001	-.0267 (200221) P=.001	-.0269 (200221) P=.001	-.0142 (200221) P=.022	-.1183 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000	.0699 (200221) P=.001	.2157 (200221) P=.001
XDEPCH1	-.0190 (200221) P=.004	.2976 (200221) P=.001	-.0151 (200221) P=.016	-.1055 (200221) P=.001	-.0488 (200221) P=.001	-.0743 (200221) P=.001	-.0207 (200221) P=.002	-.3187 (200221) P=.001	.0699 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000	.2001 (200221) P=.001
XFAM3	-.0517 (200221) P=.001	-.1099 (200221) P=.001	.0459 (200221) P=.001	.0146 (200221) P=.019	-.0081 (200221) P=.126	-.0974 (200221) P=.001	-.0533 (200221) P=.001	-.8356 (200221) P=.001	.2157 (200221) P=.001	.2001 (200221) P=.001	1.0000 (0) P=.000
DISA91	.0478 (200221) P=.001	.3108 (200221) P=.001	.0107 (200221) P=.001	.0072 (200221) P=.156	.0490 (200221) P=.001	-.0062 (200221) P=.189	-.0039 (200221) P=.293	-.0444 (200221) P=.001	.0355 (200221) P=.001	.1515 (200221) P=.001	.0181 (200221) P=.005
SCH3	-.0998 (200221) P=.001	-.2303 (200221) P=.001	-.0949 (200221) P=.001	-.2007 (200221) P=.001	-.1819 (200221) P=.001	-.0048 (200221) P=.247	-.0194 (200221) P=.003	.0036 (200221) P=.468	.0723 (200221) P=.001	-.0434 (200221) P=.001	.0340 (200221) P=.001
ENROL1	-.0492 (200221) P=.001	-.2020 (200221) P=.001	-.0317 (200221) P=.001	.0029 (200221) P=.341	.0046 (200221) P=.174	-.0571 (200221) P=.001	-.0310 (200221) P=.001	-.1712 (200221) P=.001	-.0458 (200221) P=.001	.0403 (200221) P=.001	.1522 (200221) P=.001
MIGR1	-.0587 (200221) P=.001	-.3196 (200221) P=.001	-.0331 (200221) P=.001	-.0489 (200221) P=.001	-.0185 (200221) P=.004	-.0545 (200221) P=.001	-.0665 (200221) P=.001	-.0631 (200221) P=.001	-.0036 (200221) P=.304	-.0445 (200221) P=.001	.1018 (200221) P=.001
XEMPLST2	-.0737 (200221) P=.001	-.3077 (200221) P=.001	-.2797 (200221) P=.001	-.0264 (200221) P=.001	-.0803 (200221) P=.001	-.0163 (200221) P=.011	-.0051 (200221) P=.237	-.0078 (200221) P=.134	.2329 (200221) P=.001	-.0883 (200221) P=.001	.0250 (200221) P=.001
XOCC2	-.0821 (164991) P=.001	.0602 (164991) P=.001	.1942 (164991) P=.001	-.1173 (164991) P=.001	-.0896 (164991) P=.001	-.0250 (164991) P=.001	-.0673 (164991) P=.001	.0409 (164991) P=.001	-.0495 (164991) P=.001	.0154 (164991) P=.024	-.0102 (164991) P=.094
XIND4	-.1991 (165481) P=.001	-.0121 (165481) P=.060	.0126 (165481) P=.053	-.0336 (165481) P=.001	-.0406 (165481) P=.001	-.1207 (165481) P=.001	-.1446 (165481) P=.001	.0137 (165481) P=.039	.0131 (165481) P=.046	-.0018 (165481) P=.407	.0020 (165481) P=.397
VAR49	-.0823 (178321) P=.001	.0718 (178321) P=.001	-.3892 (178321) P=.001	-.1021 (178321) P=.001	-.0799 (178321) P=.001	.0439 (178321) P=.001	.0100 (178321) P=.090	.1797 (178321) P=.001	.3602 (178321) P=.001	-.0885 (178321) P=.001	-.1228 (178321) P=.001
VAR47	-.0356 (26181) P=.034	.2138 (26181) P=.001	-.2854 (26181) P=.001	-.0923 (26181) P=.001	-.0618 (26181) P=.001	.0130 (26181) P=.223	-.0264 (26181) P=.088	.0084 (26181) P=.334	.3041 (26181) P=.001	.0834 (26181) P=.001	.0208 (26181) P=.143
VAR48	.0019 (6511) P=.482	-.0557 (6511) P=.078	-.0368 (6511) P=.174	.0947 (6511) P=.006	.0245 (6511) P=.266	-.0274 (6511) P=.243	.0232 (6511) P=.277	-.0069 (6511) P=.430	.0454 (6511) P=.046	-.1983 (6511) P=.001	.0391 (6511) P=.156
POV1	-.1074 (200221) P=.001	.0027 (200221) P=.350	-.0468 (200221) P=.001	-.1386 (200221) P=.001	-.1498 (200221) P=.001	.0010 (200221) P=.443	-.0081 (200221) P=.125	.2316 (200221) P=.001	-.0598 (200221) P=.001	-.0284 (200221) P=.001	-.2671 (200221) P=.001

Tables 4 A – E. Multiple Regression Summary of Major Variables on Poverty/Marginal Status of Adults by Colorado Regions, 1980

SUMMARY TABLE 4 A. Denver Central City

STEP	VARIABLE	E/R	F	MULT-R	R-SQ	CHANGE	R	OVERALL F	SIG.
1	XMAR1	E	204.012	.227	.051	.051	.227	204.012	0
2	XEMPLST2	E	223.210	.323	.104	.053	.22*	219.628	.000
3	MIN1	E	135.915	.368	.136	.031	-.184	196.869	.000
4	LANG1	E	51.574	.384	.147	.012	-.188	162.605	.000
5	XDEPCH1	E	40.095	.395	.156	.009	.057	139.454	.000
6	SCH3	E	28.944	.403	.163	.006	.192	121.899	.000
7	MIGR1	E	26.158	.411	.169	.006	-.035	108.920	.000
8	DISAB1	E	23.187	.417	.174	.005	-.143	98.766	.000
9	OCC1	E	5.175	.418	.175	.001	.198	88.464	.000
10	VAR16	E	2.188	.419	.175	.000	-.086	79.862	.000
11	ENROL1	E	2.113	.419	.176	.000	-.027	72.815	.000
12	XAGE1	E	1.274	.420	.176	.000	.010	66.858	.000

SUMMARY TABLE 4 B. Remainder Denver SMSA Plus Other State SMSAs

STEP	VARIABLE	E/R	F	MULT-R	R-SQ	CHANGE	R	OVERALL F	SIG.
1	XMAR1	E	749.306	.240	.057	.057	.240	749.306	.000
2	XEMPLST2	E	519.152	.309	.096	.038	.193	650.016	.000
3	ENROL1	E	207.208	.333	.111	.015	-.173	509.680	0
4	SCH3	E	172.776	.351	.123	.012	.124	430.785	.000
5	MIGR1	E	114.428	.362	.131	.008	-.089	370.701	0
6	LANG1	E	89.087	.371	.137	.006	-.112	325.079	.000
7	DISAB1	E	66.396	.377	.142	.005	-.131	290.383	.000
8	XDEPCH1	E	30.433	.380	.144	.002	-.051	258.497	.000
9	MIN1	E	18.767	.381	.145	.001	-.095	232.193	.000
10	XAGE1	E	11.609	.382	.146	.001	.040	210.315	.000
11	OCC1	E	1.726	.382	.146	.000	.133	191.364	.000
12	RUFMST1	E	.697	.383	.146	.000	.024	175.470	.000
13	VAR16	E	.592	.383	.146	.000	-.057	162.013	.000

SUMMARY TABLE 4 C. Western/Mountain Non-Metropolitan Area

STEP	VARIABLE	E/R	F	MULT-R	R-SQ	CHANGE	R	OVERALL F	SIG.
1	XMAR1	E	155.543	.260	.067	.067	.260	155.543	0
2	XEMPLST2	E	84.392	.320	.103	.035	.180	122.981	.000
3	DISAB1	E	35.157	.342	.117	.014	-.177	95.000	.000
4	ENROL1	E	20.794	.354	.126	.008	-.135	77.111	.000
5	MIN1	E	11.557	.361	.130	.005	-.084	64.303	.000
6	SCH3	E	7.569	.366	.133	.003	.100	55.011	.000
7	XDEPCH1	E	5.977	.368	.136	.002	-.048	48.116	.000
8	OCC1	E	4.030	.371	.137	.002	.142	42.665	.000
9	MIGR1	E	2.383	.372	.138	.001	-.030	38.213	.000
10	VAR16	E	2.446	.373	.139	.001	-.071	34.660	.000
11	LANG1	E	1.229	.374	.140	.000	-.072	31.624	.000
12	RUFMST1	E	.755	.374	.140	.000	.032	29.048	.000
13	XAGE1	E	.631	.375	.140	.000	-.007	26.858	.000

SUMMARY TABLE 4 D. Eastern Plains Non-Metropolitan Area

STEP	VARIABLE	E/R	F	MULT-R	R-SQ	CHANGE	R	OVERALL F	SIG.
1	SCH3	E	61.116	.249	.062	.062	.249	61.116	0
2	OCC1	E	20.994	.288	.083	.021	.235	41.713	.000
3	XMAR1	E	22.259	.324	.105	.022	.166	35.873	.000
4	MIN1	E	21.256	.354	.125	.020	-.189	32.812	.000
5	XDEPCH1	E	6.571	.362	.131	.006	-.008	27.723	.000
6	DISAB1	E	8.080	.373	.139	.008	-.153	24.627	.000
7	LANG1	E	2.306	.375	.141	.002	-.178	21.469	.000
8	VAR16	E	2.340	.378	.143	.002	-.066	19.105	.000
9	XAGE1	E	.888	.379	.144	.001	-.075	17.079	.000
10	ENROL1	E	.777	.380	.145	.001	.030	15.445	.000
11	MIGR1	E	.592	.381	.145	.001	.029	14.088	.000
12	XEMPLST2	E	.435	.382	.146	.000	.193	12.943	.000
13	RUFMST1	E	.420	.382	.146	.000	.016	11.972	.000

SUMMARY TABLE 4 E. South-central and Southwest Non-Metropolitan Area

STEP	VARIABLE	E/R	F	MULT-R	R-SQ	CHANGE	R	OVERALL F	SIG.
1	XEMPLST2	E	82.866	.294	.087	.087	.294	82.866	.000
2	XMAR1	E	46.109	.364	.132	.046	.229	66.626	.000
3	MIN1	E	41.706	.415	.172	.040	-.227	60.391	.000
4	SCH3	E	19.485	.436	.190	.018	.267	51.124	.000
5	MIGR1	E	15.301	.452	.204	.014	-.039	44.631	0
6	XDEPCH1	E	12.387	.464	.215	.011	.022	39.744	.000
7	XAGE1	E	13.509	.477	.227	.012	-.124	36.486	.000
8	DISAB1	E	9.105	.485	.235	.008	-.244	33.362	.000
9	LANG1	E	4.366	.489	.239	.004	-.233	30.255	.000
10	ENROL1	E	1.399	.490	.240	.001	-.024	27.382	.000
11	OCC1	E	.813	.491	.241	.001	.276	24.962	.000
12	RUFMST1	E	.364	.491	.241	.000	.057	22.895	.000
13	VAR16	E	.071	.491	.242	.000	-.092	21.117	.000

make the greatest difference state-wide. Education level is also important in traditional rural areas, and current enrollment is also important in Colorado suburban, small SMSA and non-traditional rural areas, where offerings are concentrated.

Although in most regards the metropolitan and non-metropolitan patterns of Colorado poverty show similarities among themselves and with national data, there are some differences which have largely to do with: (A) proximity to new economic opportunities concentrated in suburban SMSAs and (B) the effect of social identities which carry traditional access-inhibiting implications. Overall, we find social stereotypes playing a strong role in Denver central city (where physical proximity is no major problem, but the costs and time of travel to work may be), and a combination of geographical inaccessibility and imposed social barriers having a compound effect in more traditional, remote non-metropolitan areas. In most regards, patterns among adults, when relevant to youth, are even stronger among the youngsters, presumably because of a higher birth rate of lower-SES people as well as the costs of child-rearing.

These findings prompt several general observations regarding Coloradans in or near poverty. First, there is support for the general hypothesis that relative access to non-traditional opportunities in the economic system of the state explains much of the poverty differential. This assumes that access is considered in two contexts: (1) the geographical, relative to where people live and new opportunities are concentrated; and (2) socio-cultural, wherein prevailing social preference patterns disadvantage the access to opportunity of many within geographical range due common images of their being less able to reliably and productively serve in the marketplace. The latter involves a combination of (a) presumed preparation to "fit in" by virtue of education, culture or subculture of socialization (including ethnicity, origin of migrants, and, probably to some extent, gender), as well as skill type and level, etc. and (b) the practical circumstances of a person which influence impressions of their ability to reliably serve over time, including their disability status, responsibility for dependent children, school enrollment, age, and, probably to some extent, simply being single or migratory. In either case, these social preference patterns seem to very many--perhaps most--Coloradans as understandable and acceptable reasons for why many state citizens are in or near poverty, even if temporarily. As such, these identity-holders are subject to traditional role expectations under circumstances where economic activities are shifting increasingly toward the non-traditional. This social and economic system disjuncture leaves many poor persons in a bind where they are not in a position to easily manage an escape from poverty, but they also cannot afford to worsen identity problems by long permitting a stigma of impoverishment (commonly implying character flaws) on top of other identity liabilities.

Presumably, the greater the combined number of geographic and social identity disadvantages persons are subject to (short of some possible "charity threshold"), the greater is the likelihood they will become and stay impoverished, often leaving the labor force in resignation. When, however, social identity liabilities can be made to appear temporary (as with students, mothers whose childrens' ages will soon permit work, those with work skills likely to soon be in demand, etc.), the stigma of being in or near poverty is lessened because others assume the individual will overcome the conditions of their hardship. Further, in social identity assignment processes, it

probabably does make a difference whether the individual is somehow thought at fault in their hardship or not: unearned disabilities, having responsibilities for children, being a student, becoming old, the closing of a dominant industry doubtless does not burden people with the stigma of poverty that dropping out of school, not learning a demanded trade or having trouble understanding normal ways and values do. In the cases of "innocents", however, individuals cannot do a great deal on their own to shake poverty; that calls for collective action.

As with most matters of the marketplace, the cultural doctrine of individual responsibility to capitalize on available opportunity runs strong in Colorado, as elsewhere; there is not a very developed conception of differentials in the opportunity structure and thus not much pressure to change it or the traditional role definitions that keep it operative to the impoverishment of many. As a result, some persons get trapped in poverty, and, if blame can be assessed, imprisoned there through social labeling processes (Ryan's "blaming the victim"). Others are helped out of the trap when their "attitude" seems right and/or they were victimized by undeserved personal or social circumstances. The "social construction/reconstruction of reality" processes work clearly in these cases, although most citizens who make them happen cling to conceptions of individual fault, initiative and/or responsibility for most cases of poverty. After all, most citizens are unwilling to accept the blame, thus much of the problem due common prejudice and discrimination, poor public planning and intervention and the like is attributed to vulnerable individuals, especially the powerless poor. Until a much higher level of public awareness and understanding occur, there is not much hope for sociocultural system revision to compensate for changes in business and industry.

These thoughts are over-generalized, of course, but they characterize the plight perhaps of the majority who are trapped in poverty--who are not in a position to liberate themselves, and so they must depend on the system for hope while in large part realistically sensing it is basically hopeless to do so. (Note, not only do we impose the self-fulfilling prophecy on them, but they also succomb to its self-exercise.) There are others in poverty, however, whose situation is somewhat different. To conclude this comparison of patterns of Colorado poverty, we have reflected on both the foregoing data and impressions that have emerged in case-context analysis with an eye to generalizing about both its causes and remedies. That has led us to several distinctions introduced above.

I. Some poverty is, in fact, at least partly attributable to personal actions that can potentially be remedied by those individual's effort. Such cases fall into several categories:

(A) Semi-voluntary, minimally stigmatic impoverishment that is probably temporary, largely rational and usually even honorable (as with school enrollment, migration, devoting oneself to the needs of young children, struggling to establish oneself as artist or author, experimenting with "naturalistic" and altruistic alternative lifestyles, etc.). Probably most of these persons can and will depart poverty without extraordinary or sustained effort when they choose to do so. Since there is a rational and honorable dimension to their situation, they deserve kind consideration from the rest of us when in and choosing to leave poverty.

(B) Poverty resulting from significant but unintended stigmatizing actions, implying personal fault or flaw in the average citizen's view (like dropping out of high school, earning a police record, being an unwed mother, having an alcohol or drug problem, etc.). Although our data say almost nothing about this category of person, they certainly contribute to the poverty pool. Their escape from poverty implies sustained personal effort (legitimate or illegitimate). The safer legitimate route requires of them sufficient compensating achievements along with evidence of "reform" and a "good attitude" so that others "destigmatize" their identities. Individuals weakened or soured by impoverishing stigma cannot often manage this course alone, and so require sustained professional and peer support plus patience and forgiveness by others. Although the special programs for such people are not often associated with poverty alleviation, it would be rational to do so, considering the direct and indirect costs of poverty and the causal contribution poverty in turn makes to these other problems.

II. Most poverty seems to result from the workings of differential opportunity structure of socio-economic units, requiring collective actions leading to structural systems reform if poverty is to be reduced. This has been the focus of our research concern here, which has suggested two dimensions:

(A) Imposed circumstantial disadvantage which carries minimal personal stigma but involves limited realistic opportunity for personal avoidance or resolution (like costs of industrial obsolescence, changed preferences for goods and services, limited rural employment options, intense population cohort competition, etc.). It is probably not realistic to envision total socio-economic system restructuring to correct these problems (even massive socialist restructuring seems to have had little effect on overall poverty levels where this has been tried in recent times). On the other hand, more piecemeal implementation of programs and policies targeted at poor areas or subpopulations have become our most common collective approach and have focused on this type of poverty: job retraining, expanding or developing new economic opportunities, increasing the flexibility of working conditions, taxation policy to encourage and direct investments, etc. are typical, require large public investments and take time to work but help make poverty a temporary experience for many (note Bould, 1977). Some criticize, however, that such efforts commonly miss the hard-core poor who suffer another kind of system problem (Bremner, 1964; Harrington, 1963).

(B) Poverty due inherited categorical identity--particularly traditional role conceptions and stereotypes--that are commonly thought to imply employer and broader societal risk. Opening the opportunity structure to them in turn implies complicated industry and societal realignments: ideological conceptions basic to business should change; special, particularistic integration conditions and provisions would be called for; some persons would doubtless be cost their present advantage; consumer goods and services may shift in cost or quality; uncertainty and nuisance would accompany changes; etc. Such changes will likely be very slow in coming, and awkard to implement when tried. In the meantime, persons as minorities, women (especially with dependent children), the disabled and those with language and/or cultural limitations will remain severely disadvantaged by the social labeling processes of the economic as well as social opportunity structure. Broad, long-term efforts to promote social sensitivity and understanding, organized

political pressure, and revised governmental standards and incentives seem the paths to reducing this category of poverty. These matters of public responsibility imply public guilt. As long as conceptions of personal flaws and practical liability can be imposed on these victims of past circumstances, tradition will reinforce their poverty, making them more superfluous and obsolete, obviating socio-cultural change in the midst of popularly acknowledged and valued economic and technological system change. (Note Walinsky, 1964; Owens, 1977; Grinstead and Scholtz, 1976; Hamalian and Karl, 1976.) Such seems particularly problematic in more traditional areas like large central cities and remote rural areas.

The consequences of assigning individual responsibility and labeling by category are particularly intriguing when we consider the economic conditions preceding and during 1980. The nation had just undergone a major recession and was in the midst of recovery. The recession in Colorado was not as severe as elsewhere, and the recovery was even stronger than elsewhere. National media coverage of economic conditions put these considerations on the minds of most state citizens: comments about "modest unemployment but major underemployment" were becoming cliches. Even in the midst of these circumstances, the negative effect of imposing highly traditional role conceptions on persons in changing economic circumstances are apparent in the data considered here. The processes of systematic bias remain subtle, of course. Most of us would not acknowledge we harbor prejudices, but consider it our right, particularly in matters of the marketplace, to exercise personal preferences (often we say good, practical, common sense) in our daily dealings with other individuals. Thus the cycle of differential geographic and social access to economic opportunity is perpetuated at the expense of those who, for the most part, inherited traditional identities that make little sense in contemporary context and cost all of us both pride and practical benefits of comfortable living.

In brief postscript, concerns prompted by 1980 Colorado data doubtless understate the state situation in 1985 in several regards. Farm markets for state produce were stronger in 1980 than now, and farm indebtedness problems have since become more severe. Doubtless a lack of significant farm-nonfarm differential in poverty in 1980 would not apply in rural areas now. Further, the state's rural Western region energy boom was strong then, but has since gone sour, producing substantial unemployment and business losses. Even much of the promise riding on new Front Range suburban electronic and other specialized-industry developments have proved false hope as a number of them closed their doors or substantially scaled-down operations. As well, much of the federal government's current emphasis on passing its accustomed social well-being responsibilities to states and localities has adversely impacted both poor and middle-class citizens of the state. Thus we would expect Colorado has paralleled the nation in enduring alarming increases in poverty percentages during recent years: U.S. data show increases in poverty from 5 to 10% yearly from 1979 to the mid-1980's, according to the the latest of available detailed data (Census/Fendler, 1984). As these trends have influenced state conditions of impoverishment, Denver central city and traditional rural residents have doubtless been affected the most, but, to a lesser extent, so has everyone who lives with the liability of traditionally-oriented identities and/or locations that limit access to economic opportunities. Such is the nature of a traditional opportunity structure amidst non-traditional economic changes.

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Appendix 1 A - D. Mean Incomes of Adults in Poverty and Marginally Poor by Colorado Regions

VARIABLE .. VAR49 A. INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES IN 1979

FACTOR	CODE	MEAN	STD. DEV.	N (x 100)
XREG3	DEN CENT			
POV1	IN	2466.391	1560.991	345
POV1	MARGINAL	4537.117	2496.194	326
POV1	ABOVE	13184.343	11982.432	2973
XREG3	REMAIN DEN SMSA			
POV1	IN	2374.403	2078.725	419
POV1	MARGINAL	4692.137	2573.022	372
POV1	ABOVE	14635.766	12882.995	6461
REG1	4 OTHER SMSA			
POV1	IN	2295.233	1912.330	366
POV1	MARGINAL	4854.678	3026.957	435
POV1	ABOVE	12342.969	11110.420	3642
REG1	EAST			
POV1	IN	2442.551	2049.980	98
POV1	MARGINAL	4522.702	2822.639	111
POV1	ABOVE	11851.535	10093.048	635
REG1	WEST			
POV1	IN	2329.262	1447.919	163
POV1	MARGINAL	4466.542	2292.835	186
POV1	ABOVE	13664.834	12872.522	1691
REG1	SOUTH			
POV1	IN	2328.576	1694.910	130
POV1	MARGINAL	4709.285	3178.761	126
POV1	ABOVE	11983.815	11517.284	536
FOR ENTIRE SAMPLE		11897.980	11823.000	19057

19057 CASES ACCEPTED.
0 CASES REJECTED BECAUSE OF OUT-OF-RANGE FACTOR VALUES.
9672 CASES REJECTED BECAUSE OF MISSING DATA.

VARIABLE .. VAR45 B. WAGE OR SALARY INCOME IN 1979

FACTOR	CODE	MEAN	STD. DEV.	N (x 100)
XREG3	DEN CENT			
POV1	IN	2073.531	1565.808	177
POV1	MARGINAL	4669.709	2718.197	206
POV1	ABOVE	12962.711	11243.335	2388
XREG3	REMAIN			
POV1	IN	2269.778	1732.927	293
POV1	MARGINAL	4441.038	2770.043	265
POV1	ABOVE	14162.784	11713.066	5571
REG1	4 OTHER			
POV1	IN	2348.512	2127.707	242
POV1	MARGINAL	5142.358	3315.851	265
POV1	ABOVE	11758.165	9982.643	2906
REG1	EAST			
POV1	IN	3265.625	2741.795	48
POV1	MARGINAL	4756.818	3616.136	55
POV1	ABOVE	10597.633	8317.552	467
REG1	WEST			
POV1	IN	2258.302	1491.041	109
POV1	MARGINAL	4291.504	2595.668	123
POV1	ABOVE	12678.581	11328.500	1378
REG1	SOUTH			
POV1	IN	2143.529	1749.974	68
POV1	MARGINAL	4608.150	3544.168	73
POV1	ABOVE	11244.795	9159.743	415
FOR ENTIRE SAMPLE		11820.607	10887.523	15049

15049 CASES ACCEPTED.
0 CASES REJECTED BECAUSE OF OUT-OF-RANGE FACTOR VALUES.
13680 CASES REJECTED BECAUSE OF MISSING DATA.

VARIABLE .. VAR48 C. PUBLIC ASSISTANCE INCOME IN 1979

FACTOR	CODE	MEAN	STD. DEV.	N (x 100)
XREG3	DEN CENT			
POV1	IN	2293.737	1609.001	95
POV1	MARGINAL	1792.857	1278.478	28
POV1	ABOVE	2502.681	2097.565	69
XREG3	REMAIN			
POV1	IN	1695.370	1154.115	54
POV1	MARGINAL	1605.417	1139.632	24
POV1	ABOVE	1923.202	1670.209	89
REG1	4 OTHER			
POV1	IN	1620.892	1285.237	56
POV1	MARGINAL	1829.074	1354.250	27
POV1	ABOVE	2636.562	2298.374	64
REG1	EAST			
POV1	IN	2103.823	1664.128	17
POV1	MARGINAL	1460.000	914.294	14
POV1	ABOVE	2530.000	2295.684	14
REG1	WEST			
POV1	IN	1636.481	1033.380	27
POV1	MARGINAL	1166.578	1269.918	19
POV1	ABOVE	2878.000	2059.482	30
REG1	SOUTH			
POV1	IN	2047.666	1510.889	30
POV1	MARGINAL	1773.888	1632.010	18
POV1	ABOVE	2753.750	1131.893	8
FOR ENTIRE SAMPLE		2073.667	1681.533	683

683 CASES ACCEPTED.
0 CASES REJECTED BECAUSE OF OUT-OF-RANGE FACTOR VALUES.
28046 CASES REJECTED BECAUSE OF MISSING DATA.

VARIABLE .. VAR47 D. SOCIAL SECURITY INCOME IN 1979

FACTOR	CODE	MEAN	STD. DEV.	N (x 100)
XREG3	DEN CENT			
POV1	IN	2234.518	978.456	83
POV1	MARGINAL	2963.100	1216.577	100
POV1	ABOVE	3247.729	1624.057	469
XREG3	REMAIN			
POV1	IN	2269.118	836.882	68
POV1	MARGINAL	2970.882	1299.010	85
POV1	ABOVE	3127.491	1655.905	538
XREG3	OTHER			
POV1	IN	2143.415	963.023	82
POV1	MARGINAL	2848.684	1108.521	114
POV1	ABOVE	3135.860	1568.070	523
XREG3	WEST			
POV1	IN	2001.389	937.584	36
POV1	MARGINAL	3135.000	1421.164	62
POV1	ABOVE	3022.647	1600.256	204
XREG3	EAST			
POV1	IN	2446.923	888.032	26
POV1	MARGINAL	2953.864	1264.781	44
POV1	ABOVE	3285.833	1721.827	64
XREG3	SOUTH			
POV1	IN	2157.647	928.506	34
POV1	MARGINAL	2859.792	1560.259	48
POV1	ABOVE	3076.375	1620.401	80
FOR ENTIRE SAMPLE		3001.675	1527.335	2680

2680 CASES ACCEPTED.
0 CASES REJECTED BECAUSE OF OUT-OF-RANGE FACTOR VALUES.
26049 CASES REJECTED BECAUSE OF MISSING DATA.